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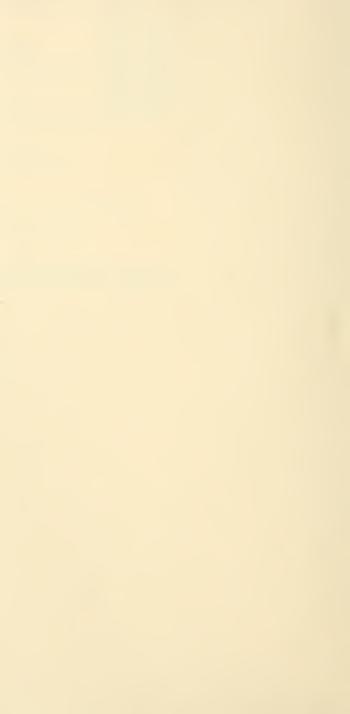


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APPEAL

TOTHE

PEOPLE of IRELAND.

OCCASIONED

By the Instructions and Misrepresentations of the Author of a Weekly Paper, entitled, The CENSOR.

PROVING,

That the PRINCIPLES laid down in that PAPER, and the Author's Reflections upon England, are unjust, ungrateful, and, in their Consequences, highly injurious to the LINEN MANUFACTURE, to the CHARTER SCHOOLS, and to the whole PROTESTANT INTEREST of Ireland.

By a Member of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland.

Why dost thou cast forth such ungenerous Terms Against the Lords, and Sovereigns of the World?

CATO.



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AN

APPEAL

TO THE

PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My Dear Friends and Countrymen.

of our Dear Country; and more particularly for the Success of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, whereof I have the Honour to be a Member; calls upon me to offer you a seasonable Caution, in Relation to certain Papers which have been lately published with great Zeal and Industry among you; with the Appearance of promoting the Glorious Cause of Liberty, and Ardour for the Honour of our Country, which if duely attended to, do (I would hope, even contrary to the Intention of the Author) manifestly tend to lessen your Liberties, bring on you new Discouragements; and immediately to affect the very Being of our Charter Schools; upon the Success of which truly Christian and flourishing Scheme, the suture Happiness of this Kingdom doth depend.

I need hardly after this inform you, that the Dangerous Papers I mean, are the CENSOR, and some others of the like stamp, supposed to be written by the same Author.

While this Author, in his noble Zeal for Liberty, and particularly for the Happiness of his Fellow-Citizens, proceeded in

his Inquiries, to find out the Rights and Priviledges of our great Metropolis, and to rescue the Commons of Dullin from any Hardships they may be laid under by those who have the Government of the City in their Hands; the hearty Love I always had for Liberty obliged me to with him Success, so far as he might have Law and Justice on his Side—and I could easily pass over those irregular Sallies of Resentment which are scarce avoidable, if he were even a Timoleon, recovering the Liberties of Corinth or Siracuse.

It gave me very confiderable Pain to fee him turn aside from the Cause he professed, to offer Violence and the most Abufive Infults to the Characters of our Judges, more especially to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, a Man whose univerfal Knowledge in the Law, great Abilities, and steady Zeal for Liberty, have justly raised him to that great Office; while his Strictness in distributing Justice, and amiable Temper, have rendered him the Delight of Mankind. - But such great Characters cannot suffer from these Resections; they may, like the Roman Conqueror, Ride on secure in Glory and their Triumphal Carr, tho' fome in the Procession may be employed to throw Dirt .- Nor need the many others, whose Characters have been attacked by the same Author, fear any Damage from Serpent that has broke its Teeth by biting at a File. -- It is in the Power of Gentlemen, Aldermen, Trustees of the Linen-Board, Commissioners, Privy Councellors, Ministers of State, and Lord Lieutenants, to do Justice to themselves; if they think it worth their while to stoop for a Stone. - I would only ask this Author one small Question, on the Principle he himself lays down; That "He who would disfranchise or inslave the meanest Subject, would, were he possessed of equal Power, dethrone his Sovereign." Whether a good Character is not an effential Part of every Free-Briton's Property, or Franchife, may fuch a Part as his whole Happiness in social Life depends on; and rather than forfeit which, every Man of generous Prinsiples would lose his Life? If so, is not that Man who wantonly destroys this, an Enemy to Mankind, a Traytor to his Country. and one, who would pull the King from his Throne? If we may judge from the Steps he hath already taken, and the large advances he hath made, it is more than probable, that were he poss. seed of Power equal to his Desires, our gracious King himfelf might not escape him. He hath with the utmost Virulease, insulted the Magistrates and Governors of the City, beratise they would not, at his Instance, give up a Power which, whether justly or not, they have been for long time in Possesfion of. Because the Judges of the King's Bench would not countenance his Scheme, which in its immediate confequence must have thrown the City into confusion; he, in a long Address to the Lord Lieutenant, accuses them as corrupt, venal and perjured: And upon the Lord Lieutenant's not immediately concurring with him, hear the odious Names he gives that great Patriot, whose Courage in the Field, and Wisdom in the Courcil, animated in all Things by a noble Zeal for Liberty; hath endeared him to his Sovereign, and raised him to the highest Honour. - " An hungry Mock-patriot of of fordid Views, whom an ambitious Minister of a neighbour-" ing Nation had made the Tenant of Regal Authority: The " Image of the Prince reflected by a thousand false Mirrors,"* and many other fuch Titles not fit to be repeated. And to make the Whole of a Piece, if his Secred Majesty will not comply with his Dedication, it is more than probable, that this mighty Patriot will, by endeavouring in his Harangues, to fink him in the Esteem of his People, upon whom his Power and Authority do chiefly depend, even make an Attempt to reduce his Sovereign.

A Man, who runs a muck at Mankind, may attempt any thing. Nor should he be checqued by me in his boldest Flights, until he Scorched his Wings; had he not, under the specious Pretence of Liberty, endeavoured to raise a Spirit of Jealousy and Discord between Great Britain and Ireland; and that without any Occasion, or even Tendency to promote his other Schemes, only so far as Haranguing upon imaginary Topics, and sighting until he was heated, with Shadows of his own creating, might raise his Fame among the Populace, as an able Orator and Champion.

It is enough to make a fincere Friend to Ireland, who loves his Country, and feeks its true Interest, tremble to read fuch violent Addresses as these; "with Regard to this Kingdom, the Parliaments of England have, for some time, treated it no better than if it were a Conquered Province, a dependent Colony. These Parliaments have been for the most part active, and made their oppressive, their iniquitous Incroachments, while the Parliaments of Ireland were shamefully passive, and most persidiously yielding." And after a long Enume-

ration of these Incroachments, he adds, "which no loyal "Subject, no honest Man, can behold, without Anxiety! without Horror! without Indignation!" See Dedication to the King, Page 20, 21, and many other Places.

Again. "It is not improbable that your Neighbours, knowing the natural Strength and Riches of this Island, and perceiving their own Declension, under the Insluence of private Regard, Luxury, and Avarice; determined to check your Growing Greatness; Lest the incensed Beast should one Day fall under its Burden, or throw its Galling Rider." See Censor 5th—Again, "The yielding any Subjection, (meaning to England) is against the Laws of our Country, is Slavery, and constitutes a Crime not less than Treason." And again, "The People of Ireland broken with a ruinous War, were iniquitously sold to the Clothiers of England, who got that most tyrannical, that most iniquitous Act of the 10th and 11th of WILLIAM Illd, &c." See Censor 6th.—
His usual Language concerning England, is our Tyrants, our Taskmasters.

It would be endless to Scrape together the many violent Aspersions, the infamous Characters, the venom against Great Britain, which flows in all this Author's Pages---it is obvious to every one, at the first Glance, that the Design of the whole is to sow Jealousies, and stir up Sedition in the Minds of the People of Ireland, against Great Britain; and to inspire them with contempt of England, and an implacable Animosity.

Liberty is the inestimable Priviledge of every Subject of Britain and Ireland, which it would be the basest Treachery to give up in the smallest Instance. Nor is there the least Danger of any Inchroachment on it, during his Majesty's Reign, who hath in all Things shewn himself the true Father of his People, and Guardian of our Liberties.—But as the best Things corrupted, become the worst Poison; nothing can be more dangerous than the Cry for Liberty, when it degenerates into Licentiousness, and is made use of as a Cloak of Maliciousness.

The open Violence and Plunders of the Pretender and his Highland Rebels, was not half so dangerous to our Liberty and Happy Constitution, as the artful Infinuations of those evilminded Men, who would disunite the happy Subjects of these King-

Kingdoms from his Majesty, or from one another;—for the Violence of the former was soon broken: But the secret Poisson of the latter may flow in the Blood, insect the Constitution, and upon all Occasions break out in Fevers, Gangrenes, and dreadful Convulsions. How wicked then is the Attempt! How monstrous the Impiety!

Nor is such an Attempt more wicked, than it is groundless and unjust.

I shall not take upon me to determine that political Point, whether a Kingdom, that by its Situation and circumstances must in some way be annexed to, and dependant on another, be in happier Circumstances by depending only upon the King of that neighbouring Kingdom; or by depending upon the King, Lords and Commons? In the latter case, the Occafions of Jealoufy are removed; the Bulwarks and Guards of Liberty seem to be redoubled; and when the whole People of the greater Kingdom have an immediate Interest in the less, it is natural to think, that it will be watchfully guarded from Enemies, nourished, and succoured with all that tender Affection which flows from the true Mother towards her Child. And if, at the same time, the King, who is the common Father, hath full Power of dispensing his Benefits without the least Restraint, scarce any Country upon Earth can be in an happier or fecurer fituation than fuch a Kingdom .- If its Inhabitants will suffer themselves to relish and enjoy their Happiness.

Now that this is the Case of Ireland, with respect to England, is obvious to any one who knows any thing of our Laws; or of the antient and present State of this Kingdom.

The Laws have made us in some Degree, a dependant Kingdom; not only the Laws of England, who planted us here, but also the Laws of Ireland, which our Foresathers contrived and enacted. These provide, that no Law shall pass in Ireland until it is approved, and as such certified, under the Great Scal of England. And while these Laws, which make Britain and Ireland but one People, are in sorce, tho' I expect to be called by the Censor a Traytor, I will venture to say, that (always saving our essential Liberties, and the Freedom and Power of our Parliament) we are by our very Constitution, a Kingdom dependant upon Great Britain; and that asserting the contrary, is the very Doctrine of the Popsish Irifo Rebels, who Massave

ered our Grandfathers in 1641*; and would have done the same Courtesy to our Fathers in the Reign of the late King James, were they not prevented by the seasonable Succours from England: That such Affertions are contrary to our Oath, wherein we Swear, "that we will bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George"—— Contrary to the Fundamental Laws of our Country, and sall but little short of Treason.

If we will allow ourselves to look back on the original State of Ireland, and compare it with our present Condition, the most prejudiced must own, that this easy Dependance upon England is the greatest Happiness and Blessing that ever besel Ireland.

Whoever will please to look into the Annals of Ireland, and consider its Condition before it became subject to England, and how its barbarous Inhabitants were by degrees moulded and formed into Humanity by the English Laws; must confess, that before that happy Period, the whole Island seemed rather to be an Hell of Devils, than an Habitation of Men.

It was divided into feveral petty Kingdoms, which were continually at Wars with one another: And in each of thefe were a Multitude of petty Tyrants, and their Septs, whose Hatred and intestine Quarrels were implaçable and endless .--Every Landlord, or little Kearn in his District was an aosolute Tyrant, who by exacting Coyne and Livery, by Cosherings, and endless Oppressions, kept all under him in the most wretched Slavery. The Tenants, if fuch they might be called, were of all Human Creatures the most forlorn Slaves, whose Lives were at the Mercy of their Lords; their Wives and Daughters the daily facrifices of their Lust, and their Sons obliged to run to die in their Quarrels, whenever a sudden fit of Drunkenness or Lust disposed any one of these Tyrants to plunder another. This condition put a stop to all Arts and Sciences, to Husbandry and every Improvement. For to what purpose was it to plow or fow, where there was little or no Prospect of reaping? -to improve where the Tenant had no Property? This universal Neglect of Husbandry covered the Face of the Kingdom with Thickets of Woods and Briars; and with those vast extended Boggs, which are not natural, but only the Excrescences and Scabs of the Body, occasioned by Uncleanliness and Sloth

^{*} See the Declemations of the Assembly of the Irish States at Kilkenny, 1642.

(9 3

Soth. The reducing of which may yet be the Labour of more than an Hundred Years.

Nor were the Families of those Tyrants much happier than their Slaves. For by the ancient Taniftry Law, upon the Death of the Chief, all things were in common; his Postession was gavelled among the Relations and the numerous Descendants of the deceased Tyrant, Legitimate and Illegitimate alike; the whole Tribe assembled to chuse another, without any Regard to his Descendants, who were Quickly reduced among the meanest of the People. So that if we look either to the Great Men, the Common People, or the natural Face of the Country, the whole was a Wilderness, a deformed Chaos of Tyranny and Misery.

How great then was the Undertaking! How glorious the Work of Henry the Second, and those first British Adventurers, who, like Gods, engaged in the arduous Task of reforming this Chass, of restoring the beautiful Face of Nature, of suppressing Tyranny, and making a Nation happy?—I care not to boast of what is not my own: Yet I must acknowledge, that I feel a secret Joy in the Thought, that my Ancestor was one among the first of these Heroes; and that, while he was Lord Justiciary of Ireland, he contributed greatly to promote these salutary Ends.

HENRY IId. granted the English Laws and Liberties to the People of Ireland, and they were then readily accepted by them: And succeeding Kings granted them the Great Charter, and other Liberties .- Wherever these Laws had free course, there was a bleffed Change, and the People felt an Hippiness! which before they could not dream of. This Happiness indeed was not so universal as the Blessing descrived; and it was by" very flow Steps, that it diffused itself into the remote Parts of the Kingdom; which was probably owing to this, " that Ireland was at that time dependant only on the Kings of Engas land, without any other relation to the Body of the English People." For while the Kings of England by their absolute Power, granted whole Provinces in Ireland to their Favourites, and these great Lords and the Governors of Ireland knew, that they were not accountable to the English Parliament, the ancient Tyranny revived, and the Irish Barbarity swallowed tip even the English Colonies. This unhappily stopt the Improvement of Ireland for near 200 Years. But

But fince the Reign of HENRY VIIth. that wifelt of Kings, and the passing of the famous Poyning's Law, by which Ireland was made more immediately dependant upon the whole People of England; Tyranny funk its Head, Liberty and Property, with the English Laws, by quick Paces, took Place. Our Mother England, looking upon us as her own, hath upon every Occasion exerted her whole Power in our Defence: Hath spared no Blood nor Treasure for our Sakes: Hath replenished us with numerous and industrious British Colonies: Hath rejoiced in the Increase of our Riches and Strength, and hath treated us, as a Part of themselves. ——We are now ONE PEOPLE; nor is there any material Difference between a Free Briton born in England, and one born in Ireland, more than between a Man of Yorkshire and a Man of Kent. And while we are largely encouraged in Our Linen Manufac-TURE, which is most effential to us, (tho' it is to be wished, for the Sake of Great Britain, that the WOOLLEN also was lest more open) we have not much more Reason to repine at fuch Restraints, than the good People of England have at the Establishment of an East-India, or African Company, to the Exclusion of others from the same Trade: Nor than the other Inhabitants of Ireland have to murmur, at their being excluded from the particular Rights and Franchises of the City of Dublin, which exclusive Rights this Author so justly and strongly contends for.

That we are looked upon by all England as one People in every Respect with themselves, is notorious from undeniable Facts.—And if fo, what madness must it be in us, who are the weaker, to create a Distinction that must ruin us! We have every Right of a Freeborn Englishman, as if we were born in London; and may purchase and enjoy Lands in any Spot of England. All Preferments in England, in the State, in the Church, in the Law, in the Army, are as open to us as to any Man born therein. Many Irishmen are Members and Ornaments of the British Parliament. One of the greatest Bishopricks in England is possessed by an Irishman. --- And notwithstanding all the Murmuring upon this Head, I am almost perswaded that there are near as many Clergymen born in Ireland provided for in England, as there are English Clergy beneficed in Ireland .- While therefore this mutual Intercourse of all friendly Offices and Priviledges subsists, and daily increases, is it not Frantick, is it not infernal, to attempt to fow Jealoufies, and to divide us? And do not the English born Bishops maintain. the Interests of Ireland with all their Might? And provide impartially for the Irish born Clergy. This is a Fact most notorious. I might mention many Instances; But I shall only here take the Liberty to name one.——Dr. Hort, the present Arch-Bishop of Tuam, hath given Benefices to more than fixty Irish born Clergymen; and by his friendly Instuence hath served many more.

I shall not impute it to this Author, (whom I believe in my Conscience to be a very honest Man, zealous in the Cause of Liberty, the mistaken in the Means;) yet I may say that had the Jesuits of St. Omers, or the most despiteful Enemies of the Protestant Interest in Ireland, laid their Heads together to have contrived a Plot to destroy it, they could not have taken more effectual Means to compass their End than to proceed in this Manner.—This carries me on to add one Point more, namely,

The base Ingratitude, the unnatural and undutiful Behaviour of casting such unjust and infamous Reslections upon our Parent England, who hath done so many kind Things for us, and is continually heaping on us new Benefits.

Not to mention our original Descent from Britain, which surely demands some kind of Respect; it is to the Blood and Treasure of England, that we owe our very being as a Nation. How largely was that poured out in the Reign of the great Queen Elizabeth, in whose Days the Protestant Religion and Liberty was established among us, in Opposition to the whole Power of the Spanish Monarchy, and the Fury of the old Irish Tyrants.

When an Hundred and Seventy Thousand of our Forefathers were massacred in cold Blood by the Popish Irish, in 1641; was it not the Parliament of England that protected the small Remnant that escaped, took just Revenge of these Murderers, and by their Armies and wise Counsells, restored and rooted the British Seed again in our Country?

When again, under the Tyrannical Reign of King James, the Protestants of Ireland were devoted to utter Destruction; was it not an English Army under the Conduct of our Great Deliverer King William, of glorious Memory, that saved

our Throats from the Skeens of his bloody Cut-throats, and restored to us our Religion and Liberties?

That truly great Patriot Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, (whose excellent Writings have been so warmly recommended even by the Censor himself) resecting on the many Benefits and Deliverances we have received from England, makes use of these remarkable Words. "That if Blood and Treasure, or a Possession of Five Hundred Years, can give a Right to a Country; England is justly intitied to the

Nor hath the Kindness of England to us, fince the happy Revolution, abated. It hath manifested itself in the Encouragement of our Manufactures, and in the over flowing Charities of the People of England, to help Ireland upon every Emergency.

Out of the Love I bear to Great-Britain, as well as Ireland, I am far from approving the Restraints laid on our Woollen Manufacture by the Act of the 10th and 11th of King WIL-LIAM .- Yet we have sufficient Amends made to us, by the great Encouragement England hath given to our Linen Manufacture; which in its Consequence is infinitely more beneficial to us: In as much as the former must necessarily leave rich Plains and vast Tracts of Land uncultivated; whereas the latter - fills the Country with industrious Inhabitants, promotes Tillage, and the Improvement of the Country: This is visible in the Province of Ulfter, by Nature the worst Soil of Ireland; yet fo improved by the Industry of the Inhabitants, that it far exceeds the rest, brings in a Million Sterling yearly into the Kingdom, and in the time of the late unnatural Rebellion in Scotland, had ready to draw into the Field one Hundred and Fifteen Thousand Protestants, as stout Men as ever drew a Sword, who would have fought to the last Drop of their Blood, rather than fail in their Affectionate Duty to King GEORGE, or fubmit to Popery or Slavery. This is the happy Effect of the Increase of our Linen Manusacture, which is daily spreading into all other Parts of Ireland .-- And this bleffed Increase is thankfully to be afcribed to the British Parliament, which not only hath given us this valuable Branch of Trade; but moreover, in the midst of an heavy National Debt of 80 Millions Sterling, thro' their passionate Concern for our Happiness, have allotted a very

[&]quot; See King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, Chap. 3. Sect. 7.

Great Fund for Præmiums to encourage us in this Manufacture, And fay it with Boldness, for I beheld it with infinite Pleasure, That the Encouraging of Ireland in its Trade and Manufactures is at present the ruling Passion of the King and Particular factures is at present the ruling Passion of the King and Particular of the City of London, and of all Ranks and Descriptions of Men in England."—And we may hope for many Things more, if we do not by Impatience, or Peevishness, prevent these Blessings.

I shall remind you only of one Point more, which demands, and from generous Minds will always secure, a grateful Attachment to England. I mean the unbounded Charity which the People of England have, upon every Emergency, with open Heart and Hands, extended to us.

Whatever may be infinuated concerning Political Interests in enlarging our Trade, can have no room here. For Charity is a free Gift, a voluntary Testimony of the sincere Affection of the Giver towards the Person on whom he confers the Gift. I need not go back to far as the Revolution to call to your Remembrance the generous Reception, the plentiful Relief afforded to the distressed Protestants of Ireland, when they, thro' Oppression, sled from their Country. The Houses and Purses of all England were open to them. The Bowels of our tender Mother yearned upon her Children in their Diftress, and disposed her to all the Works of Charity, every Testimony of natural Affection; infomuch that our Fathers scarce felt their Banishment. Let us come nearer home, and cast our Eyes on the present Objects and Evidences we have of the eager Desire England hath to promote our true Interest, and the prodigious Benefactions they have contributed towards it. You will easily perceive that I mean our Charter Schools.

This Scheme of making Ireland a Protestant and an industrious Kingdom, not by penal Laws, but by the truly Christian and humane Methods of Gentleness and Instruction, is one of the noblest that ever Possessed the Heart of Man. But when the small Grain was first sown, it seemed to require a miraculous Faith to believe that in so short a Space, as since the 24th Day of October 1733, when the Charter was first granted by his Majesty, it should grow to such a glorious Pitch, as to Educate and support yearly 885 poor Popish Children, beside the Schools now Building for 500 more. I am perswaded that the Divine Hand, which hath hitherto conducted this Glorious Work.

Work, will bring it to Perfection.—Yet, if we look to the Means, we must with grateful Hearts consess, that the supplies came chiefly from *England*.—This is properly acknowledged in the Review of the Rise and Progress of the Society, printed by the Society's Order, *November* 2d. 1748.

"It is evident, that the greatest Part of the Contributions to this good Work, have been remitted from England, to the

Amount of Twenty eight thousand eleven Pounds, five Shillings, given by Persons, many of whom have no Interest in Ireland, nor Relation to it, but send over their Bounty upon

the pure Principle of Charity, and for God's fake, for which

they can hope for no Reward but in the World to come."

If any thing can excite our Gratitude, and inviolably attach us to England, this plenteous stream of Charity, which hath so greatly refreshed us, and is still refreshing us, must do it.—And in its consequence it cannot fail to remove all those ill conceived Prejudices against England in the Irish Natives, when they daily see, what vast Expence and Care England is at to make all penal Severities unnecessary; and to render them and their poor helpless Children, as happy, even as the People of England themselves.

Upon the whole, from what hath been said, I hope my Dear Friends and Countrymen, That you are satisfied of the Dependance our Country hath upon England, and that this Dependance is our great Happiness and Blessing. If so, I am perswaded, that you are of too just, and too generous Minds to be shaken in your saithful Attachment, by any little Cavils, or pretended Grievances. You are not such Children as to be affrighted with mere spectres and shadows. You pay sew Taxes; your Manusactures are growing apace; you are protected without any great Charge; you have the sull Enjoyment of your Religion and Liberty: England Cherishes you as an Hendoth its Chickens under its wings: And if you will continue united in your affection to England, and among yourselves, you are this Day the Happiest People under the Sun---Insula Beaterum.

And as for you, our generous Friends, Protectors, and Benefactors in *Great Britain*, let me, upon the account of my Dear Country, earnestly address and beseech you, to continue to us your Protection and Benefactions! Let not one Man Sin, and a whole nation suffer. Let not our tender Mo-

ther be angry, Because one froward Child squalls out without Cause!

We are your own: We are deeply fensible of all your Benesits: We defy all our Accusers to charge us with one instance
of Ingratitude: And our dear Mother has a recent Proof of
our strong natural Affection and Attachment, in the Eagerness,
and Expedition with which we got all our brave Protestante
ready, to have slown to her Assistance, in the late unnatural
Rebellion.

I trust in God, that the happy Time is come, when Judah shall no more vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah. When Great Britain and Ireland shall look upon themselves as One People; and the only Emulation between Us shall be, who shall most promote Unity, and the univeral Good. This will make us the Glory of the whole Earth.—A People truly blest.—At the Thought, a Divine Rapture seizes my Soul.—I see the Dawn of this Glorious Day: The Light breaks in on me: It glows brighter and brighter. That it may continue and increase to the end of Time, shall be the constant wish of

My dearest Countrymen,

Your affectionate Friend, and faithful Servant,

W. BRITANNO-HIBERNUS.

